

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:RHFROWICK:GP

APPROVED BY EUR:AAHARTMAN

C:HSonnenfeldt

EUR/RPM:EJSTREATOR, JR.

EUR/CE:SGEORGE

EUR:WSTABLER

S/S - MR. LUERS

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R 232202Z JAN 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

S E C R E T STATE 015166

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, EEC

SUBJECT: FRG VIEWS ON YEAR OF EUROPE DECLARATIONS

1. DURING JANUARY 18 CALL ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN AND COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT, FRG AMBASSADOR VON STADEN PRESENTED GERMAN VIEWS ON EFFORTS TO COMPLETE US-EC AND NATO DECLARATIONS IN TIME TO PERMIT POSSIBLE TRIP BY PRESIDENT NIXON TO EUROPE IN APRIL.

2. ON US-EC DECLARATION, VON STADEN CONFIRMED EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS' AND MINISTERIAL TIMETABLE GIVEN EMBASSY BONN BY VAN WELL (BONN 681). HE NOTED EC GROUP OF CORRESPONDENTS WOULD MEET JANUARY 21 TO BEGIN PULLING TOGETHER NEW, SHORTER TEXT, WHICH, IN TURN, WOULD BE APPROVED BY POLITICAL DIRECTORS OF THE NINE FEBRUARY 6-7 AND HANDED OVER TO SECRET

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US ON FEBRUARY 7 FOR DISCUSSION AT POSSIBLE FEBRUARY 8 LUNCHEON AND MEETING WITH HARTMAN AND SONNENFELDT. VON STADEN EMPHASIZED EC DESIRE TO HAVE REVISED TEXT WELL IN HAND, HOPEFULLY WITH USG COMMENTS OR APPROVAL, FOR

SCHEDULED FEBRUARY 14 MEETING OF EC FOREIGN MINISTERS.

3. HARTMAN AND SONNENFELDT QUESTIONED VON STADEN ON NATURE OF DRAFT TO BE GIVEN US -- WHETHER TEXT WOULD BE A FIXED EC POSITION OR A WORKING DOCUMENT OPEN TO FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS -- AND WHETHER WE COULD OBTAIN DRAFT BEFORE FEBRUARY 7.

HE SAID NINE WOULD DOUBTLESS CONSIDER IT AS "BASIS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION" WITH US. HE EMPHASIZED DESIRE OF NINE TO GIVE TEXT TO EC FOREIGN MINISTERS FEBRUARY 14, BUT ACKNOWLEDGED MINISTERS COULD PERHAPS REVIEW THE DRAFT ON A SUBSEQUENT OCCASION. IN ANY CASE, THE NINE COULD NOT PROVIDE TEXT TO US UNTIL FEBRUARY 7.

4. RE NATO DECLARATION, VON STADEN SPOKE AT LENGTH OF REASONING BEHIND EUROPEANS' VIEWS ON PARA 3. HE THOUGHT IT CLEAR THAT EUROPEANS "ARE NOT UNAWARE OF PROBLEMS CITED BY US CONCERNING PARA 3." HE NOTED THAT PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY KISSINGER HAVE RECURRENTLY UNDERSCORED FACT THAT CHANGING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS HAVE INEVITABLE IMPACT ON ALLIANCE. FRG BELIEVES FRENCH VERSION OF PARA 3 REPRESENTS "BALANCED EFFORT" TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT POSTWAR CHANGES AND THEIR EFFECT ON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN US AND EUROPEAN ALLIES. VON STADEN SEES FRENCH DRAFT AS AN OVERALL PACKAGE, IN WHICH EMPHASIS IN PARA 3 ON CHANGE IS COUNTERBALANCED BY SUBSEQUENT PARAS, PARTICULARLY 7, STRESSING "INDIVISIBILITY" OF ALLIANCE. (VON STADEN APPEARED UNAWARE OF JANUARY 15 FRENCH REVISION, IN WHICH "INDIVISIBILITY" CONCEPT HAS BEEN FOLDED INTO NEW PARA 3 -- USNATO 193.) FRG BELIEVES FRANCE HAS MADE "USEFUL ATTEMPT" TO COPE WITH REACTIONS WITHIN PUBLIC OPINION TO US REFERENCES TO EVOLUTION OF TRANS-ATLANTIC RELATIONS.

5. SONNENFELDT AND HARTMAN POINTED OUT FRENCH HAD SECRET

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JUST OFFERED NEW LANGUAGE ON DECLARATION PARAS 3 AND 5, TO WHICH USNATO WOULD BE PRESENTING US REACTIONS. HARTMAN STRESSED THAT IMPORTANT THING IS TO SHOW IN A PUBLIC DECLARATION OUR CONTINUING COMMITMENTS TO COMMON DEFENSE. VON STADEN ARGUED THAT SUBSTANTIVELY "NO BASIC DIFFERENCE" EXISTS BETWEEN US AND EUROPEANS; WE MERELY NEED TO FIND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULATION. SONNENFELDT EMPHASIZED WE MUST FIND WAY EFFECTIVELY TO STATE IMPLICATIONS OF CHANGE IN A MANNER NOT UNDERMINING ALLIANCE INDIVISIBILITY -- SOMETHING EARLIER FRENCH DRAFTS HAD NOT DONE. WE ALSO NEED SIMULTANEOUSLY TO POINT OUT IN NATO DECLARATION THAT WE CONTINUE TO HAVE A COMMON DEFENSE PROBLEM.

6. HARTMAN AND SONNENFELDT POINTED TO DIFFICULTY US FINDS IN TRYING TO UNDERSTAND PARA 3 PHRASE "HAS NOT ITS EQUIVALENCE IN EUROPE." SONNENFELDT STATED USG SEES STRATEGIC BALANCE BETWEEN US AND USSR IN GLOBAL CONTEXT; IT IS THE SAME THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. WITHIN THAT

STRATEGIC BALANCE, SITUATION BETWEEN US AND SOVIETS IN EUROPE IS NOT EXCEPTIONAL. IF FRENCH ARE TRYING TO DESCRIBE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES OF FRANCE AND UK, ON ONE HAND, AND SOVIETS, ON THE OTHER HAND, CLEARER LANGUAGE SHOULD BE FOUND, SINCE PHRASEOLOGY IN PRESENT DRAFT IS CONFUSING.

KISSINGER

SECRET

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 27 JUL 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 JAN 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE015166
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/RPM:RHFROWICK:GP
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: P750004-0787
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740175/abbrzbwf.tel
Line Count: 125
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01 APR 2002 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <29 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: FRG VIEWS ON YEAR OF EUROPE DECLARATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, EEC
To: NATO
BONN INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
DUBLIN
EC BRUSSELS
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005